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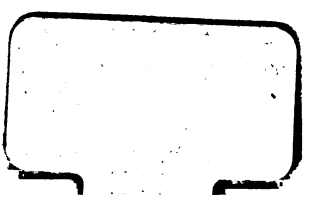

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"THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC"

BY

JIUJI G. KASAI
OF KŌFU, JAPAN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
PRESIDENT HARRY PRATT JUDSON
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO
1913

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To Dr Eliot

from

Junjiro Kasai

Cambridge, Jan. 10, 1914.

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Pres. C. W. Eliot
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FOREWORD

Mr. Jiuji G. Kasai is one of the many Japanese students to receive a degree from an American college. Warmly interested in the life and institutions of our people, he retains at the same time all the vivid patriotism which characterizes his own countrymen. His address on "The Mastery of the Pacific" is especially interesting, then, as presenting clearly and forcefully the view of an intelligent young man from Japan, educated in the United States, eager for permanent friendship between the two nations, and to that end pleading for justice in the great republic. Those who look at our international questions dispassionately, and who wish for all the light before reaching a decision, will gladly read Mr. Kasai's presentation of the case.

Harry Pratt Judson

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
June 5, 1913

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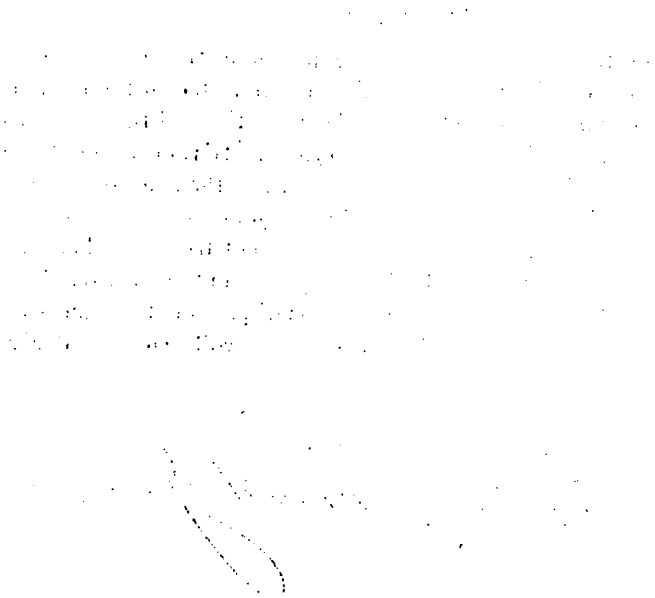

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"THE MASTERY OF THE PACIFIC"

JIUJI G. KASAI

Sixty years ago tonight your gallant Commodore Perry awakened the secluded Empire of the Rising Sun with the booming of cannon, and introduced her to the nations of the West. From that time on the United States has befriended Japan against the perils of foreign aggression, and Japan, in turn, has revered America as her teacher and true friend. When, a few years ago, we were engaged in the titanic struggle against Russia you gave us hearty sympathy and moral support. But hardly had we fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the liberty-loving American people when suddenly there came the cries of jingoes and demagogues: "Beware of the Yellow Peril!", "Beware of Japan's warlike ambition to master the Pacific at the expense of the United States!" Moreover, the Japanese have been discriminated against, subjected to humiliation and injustice, until finally the recent anti-Japanese legislation in California has caused an embarrassment to both national governments.

That this historic bond of friendship should be thus threatened by irresponsible agitators and selfish demagogues is a crime. As a modest student of this great University; as one who has been nurtured in the venerated traditions of his native country, and yet, as he believes, is imbued with the lofty spirit of your institutions and the noble ideals of your people, my heart burns with indignation to hear such false and vicious charges. Inspired by my reverence for my Alma Mater, my admiration for America, and by my loyalty to my native country, I come here tonight to plead in the name of the sixty millions of my countrymen, that Japan and the United States should continue friends. Allow me, then, to raise my humble voice in appeal to your American sense of fairness and justice which is known all over the world.

The rise of Japan is not a menace to the American interests in the Orient. Since Japan became a world-power your oriental trade has been increasing constantly and our mutual commercial ties are being strengthened every year. It is not Japan that is your dangerous competitor in the Orient, but it is England, Germany, and France. The greater the industries of Japan become, the greater will be the American commerce with Japan. Our mills are equipped with your machinery and supplied with your raw materials. In 1886, the trade between our two countries amounted to less than $10,000,000, while now it has reached $150,000,000,

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an increase of 1,400 per cent. "It is germane," said ex-President Taft in his message to Congress on December 3, 1912, "to those observations to remark that in the two years that have elapsed since the successful negotiation of our new treaty with Japan, ... our export trade to that country has increased at the rate of over $1,000,000 a month. Our export to Japan for the year ended June 30, 1910, were $21,959,310, while for the year ended June 30, 1912, the exports were $53,478,046, a net increase in the sale of American products of nearly 150 per cent." Moreover, since Japan's victory over Russia, she has been extending her industry and commerce in Korea and Manchuria, thus causing American exports to those regions to increase nearly 300 per cent in the last seven years. Does this seem as though Japan were a menace to the American interests in the Orient and a violator of the "Open Door" policy?

Our detractors tell us that the Japanese are essentially "uncivilized." But, they forget that Japan is a nation with a splendid ancient civilization. She has seen the rise and fall of many empires and kingdoms. She saw Greece in the zenith of her glory and Rome when she was the supreme mistress of the Mediterranean world. She witnessed Alexander's invasion and Caesar's conquest of Gaul and Britain. Her national chronicle was written long before *Beowulf* and the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicles*. She had her culture and art when your European forefathers were roaming in their forests. Her educational system long antedates King Alfred's schools and Charlemagne's patronage of men of learning. During the twenty-six centuries of her existence as a nation, she has assimilated Buddhism from India, Confucianism from China, Christianity and modern science from Europe and America. Her geographic position has made her a crucible for the world's civilizations, thus bringing the East and the West not into conflict, but harmony. And yet, they call us "uncivilized" and "semi-barbarous"!

They tell us that the Japanese are warlike. But show me another nation that has had three hundred years of uninterrupted peace! While Christian nations were engaged in wars of reformation, revolution, or of conquest, Japan was blessed with profound peace. While Europeans were fighting at Blenheim, Trafalgar, Austerlitz, and Waterloo; while your forefathers were fighting at Lexington and Bunker Hill for the cause of freedom; while your grandsires were shedding their fraternal blood at Bull Run and Gettysburg, my ancestors were being taught chivalry, honor, and rectitude in the peaceful school of Bushido, or knighthood. Is it any wonder, then, that Yokoi Shonan, Japan's moralist before the coming of Perry, begged his government to send him to the Christian nations of the West as an envoy of peace to beseech them to cease bloody wars and the slaughter of men?

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True, in the last decade, Japan has fought one of the greatest wars in the annals of history. But she fought not because she wanted to, but because she had to. She fought for liberty, for national honor and existence, animated by the same spirit which led your brave forefathers to take arms against the tyranny of the British crown. Not elated by this victory, her statesmen have been guiding the nation along lines of economic advancement and progress, not for aggrandizement nor conquest. For generations to come, Japan must summon all her energies for the development of Saghalien, Korea, and Formosa. And yet, we hear repeated charges that Japan is preparing to fight for the mastery of the Pacific. Let us hear Professor Archibald Coolidge of Harvard University, who in his recent work, "The United States as a World Power," says: "The grandiloquent expressions 'dominion of the seas,' 'the mastery of the Pacific,' and the like are mere claptrap." The Pacific Ocean is too broad to be controlled by any one nation. Japan entertains no such foolish ambition; she cannot, she never will selfishly seek to control this great ocean, which I hope will ever remain true to its name, the ocean of peace! Instead of being the arena for the struggle between the two nations, the Pacific Ocean has been the channel through which America introduced the Western civilization to the first nation of the Orient. May it ever serve as the highway for commerce and higher civilization between the East and the West!

Such are the real characteristics and the true policy of the Japanese nation. And yet it is said that we are a menace to America. We have been subjected to great injustice and humiliation in certain parts of this country. Under the strictest ordeal we may acquire passports from the Japanese government for admission to America. After careful examination by inspection officers and the American consul in Yokohama, we bid farewell to our native land and depart for the United States. After fourteen days of journey on the Pacific, as we reach our destination we are again placed under cross-examination and scrutiny by immigration officers. If we, at last, succeed in entering this land of freedom, we are often spurned with contempt, treated with indignity and shame. We come to America inspired by the deeds of Washington and Lincoln, whom we have been taught by our teachers to revere from our childhood days, and now we are disappointed. While the United States throws her doors open to the European immigration, she has shut them to the Japanese. While the European, however low a character, is admitted to American citizenship, the Japanese, however high in morals and education, is barred. In contrast to this attitude, the Americans enjoy the right of naturalization and all rights pertaining thereto in Japan. Because we have no right of naturalization here, we

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have been, in many instances, exploited by politicians and demagogues. In 1907, the "school question" of San Francisco was created through the connivance of the infamous Mayor Schmitz and O. L. Tveitmoe, one of the most notorious leaders of the McNamara dynamite conspiracy. Again, the Japanese are made a political football at Sacramento. We are discriminated against to such a degree that, today, there are more than thirty-five bills against us in the legislature of California. They propose to increase the license fee of the Japanese fisherman to one hundred dollars, while they are charging other aliens ten dollars; to impose a special poll tax upon the Japanese; to segregate Japanese school children throughout the state; they propose to prohibit the Japanese from employing white girls; from using power engines, and above all from owning land. "Such bills," said President David Starr Jordan of the Leland Stanford Junior University, "are unjust to the Japanese, and unconstitutional." "Is this," said Miss Alice Brown, of Florin, California, "American freedom, Russian autocracy, or Turkish subjugation? . . . . At the behest of ignorance, racial hatred, political chicanery, shall California permit herself to be disgraced?"

The followers of Denis Kearney tell us that "the Japanese invasion" will threaten the very existence of the state. But to the state that has an area of 158,297 square miles, which favorably compares with that of all Japan, and a population of only two and a half millions—as large as that of the city of Chicago—fifty thousand Japanese are a negligible quantity. These agitators know perfectly well that the Japanese population in the United States has been decreasing since 1907, when the Japanese government stopped emigration to the United States. According to the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the total number of the Japanese admitted to the continental United States for three years ending June 30, 1911, was 9,312, while those returning to Japan numbered 15,897, thus showing an actual decrease of 6,585 in these three years. Does this look as though the "Japanese invasion" were imminent?

They allege that the Japanese laborers crowd out the white men with cheap labor. But, according to the report of Mr. John D. Mackenzie, the State Commissioner of Labor of California, the average daily wage paid to the Japanese laborers in agriculture is $1.49 with board, and $1.54 without board; while that of white help is $1.38 with board, and $1.80 without. The average daily wage of the Japanese laborers employed by the Japanese farmers is $1.75 with board. Mr. Mackenzie went farther in saying that the skill and adaptability of the Japanese are without equal, and California needs Japanese labor. They tell us that the Japanese are dishonest, immoral, and tricky. But, Dr. Herbert

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B. Johnson, Superintendent of the Pacific Coast Methodist Episcopal Japanese Missions, has denied this charge, saying: "Their moral standard is much higher than that of European immigrants. Where Europeans go there go saloons; but where the Japanese laborers go there go books and dictionaries." Yet, they call the Japanese untrustworthy, and "coolie labor."

They tell us that the Japanese are a menace to California. On the contrary, the state of California owes its debt of gratitude to the Japanese farmers. These farmers have been most active in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys—the former is noted for its scorching summers and rigorous winters, while the latter is notorious for its damp, unhealthful climate, and consequently shunned by white laborers. But, who converted this arid land into the gardens famous for strawberries, raisins, and wines? Who developed these marshy lands into fertile plains abounding in fruits and vegetables? It is the Japanese farmers, whose centuries of training in intensive agriculture made them the masters of this art. And yet, for this great service what have they received as reward? Only 12,726 acres out of 17,750,000 acres of arable land, not given, nor stolen, but bought with their hard-earned money!

The exclusionists tell us that the Japanese should be excluded because they cannot be assimilated. The absurdity of such an assertion is clearly illustrated in the history of the Japanese nation. Its pages are full of bright records of assimilation of divergent civilizations. As soon as the Japanese come to the United States, they become eager to learn American institutions and customs. While in every city in this country, there are many Americanizing agencies such as settlement houses and night schools to assimilate European immigrants, the Japanese are shunned and scorned, and are denied such opportunities. More than that, in the legislature of California there is proposed an un-American bill to exclude the Japanese children born in the United States, the rightful citizens of this republic, from the public schools throughout the state. In spite of such discriminations and handicaps, the Japanese in America have become, in their spirit and ideals, the staunch supporters of the American nation. They tell us that the Japanese are not fit to be citizens of the self-governing nation. On the contrary, the Japanese are very enthusiastic over the political affairs of this country, although they have no voice in legislation. During the presidential campaign of 1912, the Japanese papers of Seattle and San Francisco sent special correspondents to the Republican National Convention of Chicago and that of the Democrats at Baltimore. By their able editors the Japanese residents of the Pacific coast have always been led to be loyal to the institutions and ideals of this great nation.

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The alarmists tell us that the Japanese are so loyal to their own country that they would not make good citizens of the United States even though they are admitted to American citizenship. But, their patriotism to Japan will not prevent their becoming loyal citizens of this republic if they are allowed to swear their allegiance to this country. In A.D. 716, in the reign of Emperor Gensho, Abe no Nakamaro was sent to the court of the Tang Dynasty of China as a student. Nakamaro remained in China, and, imbued with the Chinese spirit and culture, he adopted a Chinese name and called himself Chōkō and served the Emperor of China. Though he was longing for his native land for fifty-three years of his service as the highest dignitary of China, he never once saw his native Nippon. At his death he was given the posthumous title of Viceroy. In his day, there was a voice in Japan calling Nakamaro a traitor; but there was a eulogy to him: "Is it not a great loyalty to one's country to show its glory in a foreign land by serving that nation with heart and soul?" Surely, there will be many Nakamaros and Carl Schurzes among the Japanese in America if they are allowed to be naturalized. They tell us that the Japanese, though naturalized, will become traitors to the United States, should a war occur between Japan and America. Such allegation can easily be refuted by the long-established custom and training of the Japanese people. In the days of Bushido, a son of Samurai was betrothed to another clan to succeed it when there was no male descent. When in later years, should a war arise between the clan of his birth and that of his adoption, it was the duty of a true Samurai to lay down his life for the cause of his adopted clan, to fight even against his kinsmen. The honor of his ancestors demanded this deed, and only a coward will shirk such a duty. Such is the case of the Japanese in America. They will ever be loyal to their adopted land, and they will sacrifice their lives for the cause of America should emergency arise. Their intense feeling of honor and loyalty will forbid them to be Benedict Arnolds, thus leaving an everlasting stigma on their race. Is it, then, fair and just for America to deny the Japanese the right of naturalization, when she is admitting Europeans of all classes as her citizens?

Such an ungenerous attitude on the part of your people will, I fear, seriously imperil the friendly relations between our two countries. For ten years Japan, although humiliated and insulted, has trusted to the fairness and square dealing of the American people. How long would you American people, the champions of human rights, tolerate such unreasonable conduct? How long can the Japanese people who hold in such high regard justice and honor, patiently bear such continual irritation and injustice? Should the case be reversed and the Americans be treated with humiliation in Japan while the Europeans were

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treated with due consideration and justice, what would you liberty-loving American people and government do? Because Japan has made a treaty with the sovereign nation of the United States, not with the state of California, because she has made a treaty with the United States on a par with other nations, has she not good reasons for asking the Federal Government to give her the justice which is her due?

Such is the present status of the Japanese-American relations. However loud chauvinists and demagogues may cry for war, there are many reasons why Japan and the United States should be strong friends. Our geographic position should make us good neighbors. Open, if you please, your map of the Pacific Ocean. From Alaska to southern California, from the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines, two-thirds of the entire coast lines of the Pacific belongs to you, while from the Kurile Islands to Formosa, the other third is owned by Japan. From San Francisco to Yokohama we communicate by means of your American cables, and from Seattle to Kobe you ship your freights and travel on Japanese steamers. When, in a few months, the Panama Canal is opened, your Atlantic coast will be brought into still closer relation with my country. You are the most dominant of the nations of the West while Japan is the guardian and the sentinel of the nations of the East; therefore we must be strong friends!

If for no other reasons, as a business proposition, Japan and the United States should be friends. Our commercial interdependence forbids us to go to war. Take an ordinary citizen of Japan. He rises in the morning from his bed covered with sheets made of American cotton from Texas; he eats fruits from California; bread made of flour from the mills of Portland and Minneapolis; meat from the packing-houses of Chicago; the salmon from the Columbia River and Alaska; he smokes tobacco from Virginia and Kentucky; and he builds his house with Washington lumber. At night, throughout the Empire, his path is lighted with kerosene from Pennsylvania and electric lamps from Schenectady. Our industrial plants are equipped with your motors and machinery and supplied with your raw materials; and our railways are built with steel rails from South Chicago on which Baldwin engines draw Pullman cars. On the other hand, the United States is the largest customer of Japan. Sixty-eight per cent of silk and 59 per cent of tea imported by this country come from Japan. Thus, you ladies who are here tonight decorate your homes with Japanese art; you dress yourself with the silk spun by the nimble fingers of the Japanese girls; and you entertain your friends with the tea picked upon the green hillsides of my native Nippon. Fine and delicate is the thread of silk, yet it binds together our two great nations!

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Should our two nations be involved in war, who will reap any profit? Are we so foolish as to lose sight of these great economic and commercial interests only to enrich other nations? Are you willing to sever the bond of friendship to satisfy the ambitions of jingoes and demagogues, when it will bring nothing but the destruction of commerce, the shattering of industry, the waste of resources, and above all the slaughter of the noble sons of two countries, leaving hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans? Moreover, to go into war will cost our two countries an expenditure of at least ten billion dollars. Ten billion dollars! A breath will suffice to utter and a stroke of the pen will express this enormous sum. But weigh it, and there will be three hundred and fifty thousand tons of solid silver. Load it into wagons, and there will be ninety thousand wagons. Place them in a line, they will cover a distance of nine hundred and sixty miles, or that of from Chicago to New York. Spend it for peaceful purposes, it would build and maintain three hundred and fifty great universities like our own; thirty-five thousand Cook County hospitals; or ten thousand libraries, each as great as our Harper Memorial. Ah! But who could estimate the value of the precious blood shed upon the altar of greed and injustice?

Besides, my friends, there is a stronger bond that has kept Japan and will keep her a friend of America—it is the bond of sentiment, of gratitude, and of affection. Sixty years ago tonight, my ancestors were panic-stricken at the coming of the American squadron. However audacious Perry's attitude may have been, the kindly assistance of the United States in the subsequent history has indelibly impressed itself upon the heart of the Japanese nation. Today on that white beach of Kurihama, where Perry landed three score years ago, stands a magnificent stone monument to your gallant Commodore, attesting the profound sense of my country's gratitude to you the American people. Japan has known America not through your yellow journals and demagogues but through the American university men and women of noble character who have consecrated their lives for the cause of humanity and higher civilization, and for the cause of my own country. Many of the foremost statesmen and educators of modern Japan are the sons of your universities who have carried home the sweet memories of kindnesses shown by their American teachers and friends. From those of us who are now in America Japan will draw her future leaders; and America can send to Japan no better ambassadors than these young men and women. Is it any wonder, then, that the names of Washington and Lincoln are dear to every true Japanese heart, and are venerated at every hearthstone throughout my native land? Is it any wonder that in 1908, in welcoming the American Atlantic fleet the school children

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of Yokohama, five thousand strong, should sing the "Star-Spangled Banner"?

Such are the spontaneous expressions of the hearts of the Japanese people. If, therefore, a war should ever come between our two countries, it will come not from Japan, but from the demagogues and yellow journals of America. Hamilton Holt, managing editor of the *Independent*, well says after his return from Japan: "If there ever is any trouble between the United States and Japan, it will be because we deliberately seek it or else because public opinion in America is allowed to be kept in ignorance of the true attitude toward us of our great and long-forbearing sister nation across the Pacific."

Such are the true feelings and attitude of the sixty millions of my countrymen toward you, the American people. What answer have you to this message from the heart of Nippon? Can you turn deaf ears to Japan's earnest appeal? You whose brave forefathers fought at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg for the sake of liberty and equality; you who have always stood for the sacred cause of human rights; you who for the last sixty years have shown us many proofs of friendship; you who have sent us missionaries to teach the gospel of peace and humanity; surely you will not now deny us fair play and justice! To you, teachers, students, and friends of this great American University, the leaders of thought, the makers of sound public opinion, the strong bulwark of your great nation, I beg that you summon all your powers to put a stop to this nonsensical war-talk, and to put an end to petty prejudice born of ignorance and bigotry! Thus let us not be enemies but friends! May we each do our share to fulfil the lofty prophecy pronounced by the immortal lips of your brave hero and far-sighted statesman, Ulysses S. Grant, in his address to the late Emperor Meiji Tenno: "Japan and the United States shall be friends for centuries to come!" May your glorious ensign of the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of liberty, progress, and justice, and our flag of the Rising Sun, the symbol of loyalty, honor, and righteousness, eternally wave on the opposite shores of the great Pacific Ocean as the joint guardians of justice and peace forever!

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